

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional)

DCI Host Breakfast in Honor of Representative Thomas S. Foley
Monday, 29 September 1986, 7:45 a.m., DCI Dining Room

FROM:

David D. Gries
Director of Congressional Affairs

EXTENSION

NO.

DATE

25 September 1986

TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)

DATE

RECEIVED

FORWARDED

OFFICER'S
INITIALS

COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)

1. *ADD*
DCI

29 SEP 1986

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25 September 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: DCI

FROM: Dave Gries 

SUBJECT: Breakfast for Representative Foley

STAT You are scheduled to host breakfast for Rep. Thomas S. Foley on Monday, 29 September at 7:45. Also attending are Bob Gates, Dick Kerr, Bill Donnelly, Jim Hirsch and myself.

As you know, Foley is the Majority Whip in the House of Representatives. The Almanac of American Politics 1986 describes Foley as follows: "He is widely respected as a parliamentarian who is knowledgeable (in itself a feat, given the complexity of the Rules of the House), careful in his rulings, and scrupulously fair. If he is a stickler for detail, those who are irritated by that usually end up admitting he was right. He is trusted by Tip O'Neill and by Jim Wright. He is probably one of the best natural legislators in the House, a man who is respectful of the opinions of others even as he is forceful in the advocacy of his own."

Proposed talking points and biographic information are attached.

Attachments

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Washington - 5th District

5 Thomas S. Foley (D)

Of Spokane — Elected 1964

Born: March 6, 1929, Spokane, Wash.
Education: U. of Washington, B.A. 1951, LL.B. 1957.
Occupation: Lawyer.
Family: Wife, Heather Strachan.
Religion: Roman Catholic.
Political Career: No previous office.
Capitol Office: 1201 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-2006.



In Washington: Regarded by many colleagues as the best potential House Speaker in Democratic ranks, Foley has to put aside those ambitions for the time being to convince skeptics that he is suited for an entirely different job — majority leader.

When Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. announced his decision to retire as Speaker in 1986, Foley became the early favorite for promotion from Democratic whip, his current position, to majority leader, the post Jim Wright will presumably vacate to succeed O'Neill. Within a few days of the announcement, Foley had called every single House Democrat to make clear that he wanted to be majority leader.

And it seems likely that he will be chosen. As of mid-1985, no other serious contenders had emerged. But he still must demonstrate that someone superbly equipped for a job meant to be above partisanship can succeed in one where partisanship is the first requirement.

Foley grew up wanting to be a judge, and sometimes it seems he still wants to be one even in a political setting. He does not like to commit himself early on controversial issues, and he can be as skillful at making the case for the opposing side as for his own. "I think I am a little cursed," he said in 1984, "with seeing the other point of view and trying to understand it."

As a parliamentarian, negotiator and public speaker, Foley ranks as high as any member of Congress in recent years. All of those talents are useful to a majority leader. What many Democrats insist they want, however, is an aggressive partisan who can challenge the opposition and give the Speaker a chance to stay above the battle, at least in public. Foley as partisan slasher sometimes seems like a contradiction in terms.

As whip, second Democrat in line as cheerleader and partisan point man, he still has managed to sound like Foley most of the time. In the early months of 1981, when the leader-

ship seemed unable to hold conservative Democratic support on any important economic vote, the new whip was careful to point out the limits of party discipline in a modern Congress. "In either party, on any issue," he said, "the members of Congress have to make up their own minds ... getting tougher isn't the right thing we need to do."

One year later, though, a moment came when the leadership needed exactly the skills and style that Foley offered.

President Reagan had been persuaded to support \$98 billion worth of tax increases over a three-year period as a means of bringing the federal deficit down. Speaker O'Neill favored the plan and asked Foley to make the case for it on national television, hoping to create a climate in which wavering Democrats might go along with the legislation.

Foley responded with a masterful television speech, quietly urging members of both parties to summon up "political courage" and cast a vote in favor of "economic reality." He seemed far more comfortable delivering that speech than he had seemed offering more partisan rhetoric a year before. Afterward, other Democrats speculated that he might have influenced 60 votes on their side of the aisle. Early in 1983, when O'Neill and Reagan again found themselves in agreement — on the need for a job-creating public works bill — the Speaker again chose Foley as spokesman and negotiator for congressional Democrats. By the end of March, Reagan had signed a \$4.6 billion jobs bill into law.

Foley's most controversial moments in the 98th Congress involved his position on the MX missile. Along with Wright, he cast a vote for the weapon in May of 1983, helping President Reagan win congressional permission to start conducting MX test flights. That angered

Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash.

Washington 5

Though the 5th includes Spokane, a city of nearly 200,000 people, it is temperamentally a rural district, one in which farm prices are often the decisive political issue. People here like to refer to eastern Washington as the "Inland Empire," taking pride in the wheat- and vegetable-growing prosperity that sets it apart from Washington-on-the-Pacific.

Spokane is the banking and marketing center of the Inland Empire, which encompasses farming counties in Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana. The city's sizable aluminum industry takes advantage of the low-cost hydroelectric power that comes from New Deal dams along the Columbia.

Comparatively isolated and marked by a stable, non-transient population, Spokane is one of the most conservative of America's large cities. For a time in the early 1960s, its wariness of government intrusion led it to refuse federal assistance to fund local projects. In 1984, Spokane County gave Reagan almost 60 percent and supported losing GOP Gov. John Spellman. Spokane County, with more than 300,000 residents, accounts for about two-thirds of the district's population.

East — Spokane

Walla Walla County, dominated for generations by a small group of wheat- and vegetable-growing families, is the most conservative part of the district. It gave Reagan nearly 65 percent in 1984. The third-largest county in the 5th is Whitman, site of the Washington State University campus in Pullman. Republicans usually win Whitman also, but by lesser margins than they carry Walla Walla and Spokane counties.

Popular Democrats such as Foley can win the 5th, but no Democrat can afford to become very confident about his status there. In 1980, with Reagan sweeping southeastern Washington, many voters cast Republican ballots for the House as well as for statewide office, and Foley was nearly unseated. By redoubling his efforts in the district, Foley prevented Reagan's 1984 reelection from affecting his own contest.

Population: 516,719. White 489,609 (95%), Black 5,705 (1%), American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut 7,817 (2%), Asian and Pacific Islander 5,669 (1%). Spanish origin 11,700 (2%). 18 and over 373,789 (72%), 65 and over 59,889 (12%). Median age: 29.

much of the liberal element of the House Democratic Caucus, and first-term member Jim Bates of California demanded a caucus meeting to determine why party leaders were helping enact the Reagan defense program.

In the first vote after the caucus, Foley opposed the MX, and he has continued to do so ever since. He and Wright (who also changed his mind) insisted they were reacting to new arguments about the merits of the weapon, but it was also agreed that Foley and Wright were making the right political move as they prepared to run for leadership posts in a predominantly dovish House Democratic Party.

Foley also played an active role in debates over Central America. He voiced the leadership's sentiments in 1983 when he offered a floor amendment to bar the use of American troops in El Salvador or Nicaragua unless Congress approved or a threat to U.S. security existed.

As whip, Foley had relatively little time in the 98th Congress for the agriculture issues

that preoccupied him from 1975 to 1981, when he was Agriculture Committee chairman. He did provide crucial help in the passage of a controversial dairy program that pays dairy farmers to reduce their production of milk. But the Agriculture Subcommittee on Wheat, Soybeans and Feed Grains, which he continues to chair, was not very active in the 98th Congress.

Foley gave up the chairmanship of the full Agriculture Committee when he became Democratic whip in 1981. The timing of that move was not ideal, since the House was about to consider a four-year extension of the massive 1977 farm bill. But as it turned out, Foley had a decisive influence over the legislation.

He supported the 1981 farm bill as it passed the House, managed by his successor as Agriculture chairman, E. "Kika" de la Garza of Texas. But when the issue went to conference with the Senate, both Foley and de la Garza faced efforts by the White House and Senate Republicans to cut price support levels deeply.

Normally slow to anger, Foley launched an

Washington - 5th District

uncharacteristic display of temper against proposed wheat price supports he regarded as too low to sustain his eastern Washington wheat growers. He refused even to sign the conference report and promised to oppose it on the House floor, something he had never done over nearly 20 years in Congress. "We've done 100 percent of the adjusting," he complained. "Nothing seems to satisfy this administration except an absolute capitulation."

In the end though, he played a very different role. Between the end of the conference and the final House vote, Foley and some of his wheat-growing allies agreed that the conference bill was better than none at all, since any new version enacted the following year was likely to be even worse. Foley not only voted for the conference report, but rounded up the reluctant Democratic support that allowed it to pass by two votes in November.

In 1982 Foley kept his distance as the Agriculture Committee drafted a "farm crisis" bill aimed at creating strict new production controls on major crops. Some of Foley's closest allies among junior Democrats on Agriculture pleaded with him to back the bill, but he refused to cosponsor it; the leadership clearly did not consider it a priority. It died on a tie vote in full committee.

Foley later successfully added portions of the farm crisis bill to another piece of legislation, but the episode seemed to change the politics of the committee, placing some distance between him and some of the sponsors. De la Garza, who cosponsored the farm crisis bill, appeared to be gaining the loyalty of junior Democrats on Agriculture who had previously taken legislative cues from Foley.

Foley won the Agriculture chairmanship in unusual circumstances in 1975. The huge bloc of freshman Democrats was determined that year to unseat some of the aging, conservative House chairmen, and W. R. Poage of Texas, while popular within his Agriculture Committee, was 75 years old and very conservative. The caucus unseated Poage by a vote of 152-133; Foley opposed the move, but then replaced Poage.

As chairman, Foley kept major farm bills under his control at the full committee level, rather than parceling them out to subcommittees as most chairmen now do. He was openly bipartisan, usually working out arrangements in advance with ranking Republican William C. Wampler of Virginia.

His handling of the 1977 farm bill was typical. Major crop support programs and food stamp legislation were up for renewal in one

package. President Carter repeatedly threatened to veto the bill as too costly. Foley painstakingly put together a compromise, balancing farm state pro-subsidy votes and urban bloc food stamp support. "Sure I want higher price supports," he said at one point. "But it won't help farmers for us to pass a bill the president won't sign."

At the last minute, Oklahoma Democrat Glenn English drafted a floor amendment to increase supports for wheat beyond what the committee had approved. Foley decided the amendment probably would pass, so he went back to the White House and persuaded Carter to accept it. In the end, Foley offered the English amendment himself and it went through easily.

Earlier in his career on the Agriculture Committee, Foley was a principal author of the 1967 Meat Inspection Act, providing federal funds for states to use in imposing standards on the packing industry. He and Iowa Democrat Neal Smith narrowly failed on the House floor in an effort to make the program stronger by writing in specific federal standards.

Foley's parochial interests on Agriculture are wheat and sugar beets. He tried to win passage of a new sugar price support program in 1979, but lost badly on the floor.

For 10 years, Foley also sat on the Interior Committee. There he worked on enlarging the nation's largest power plant, the Grand Coulee Dam, and protecting Northwest water from raids by California and Arizona.

In 1980 Foley was a major sponsor of the Northwest Power bill, which was aimed at allocating scarce energy resources in the Pacific Northwest over the rest of this century. Foley was no longer on Interior, but much of the strategy was worked out in his office. A mini-filibuster delayed passage for a month, but Foley and others ultimately moved it through on a 284-77 vote.

In the 98th Congress, he played the role of mediator as the entire Washington delegation argued with environmentalists and timber companies about the designation of new wilderness lands in their state. Meetings were held for weeks in Foley's whip office, and eventually the delegation agreed to set aside more than one million wilderness acres.

But environmentalists were ultimately frustrated by the failure to include an area known as the Kettle Range, located at the northern end of his district. Foley was the target of much of their criticism. "I've supported every wilderness bill that's ever come before the Congress," he responded. "And in this case I'm supporting a million acres..."

Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash.

There's an all or nothing attitude about the wilderness movement."

Over the years, Foley's intelligence, negotiating skill and sense of detachment have allowed him to reach the top levels of the House leadership without the aggressiveness it sometimes takes to make it that far in the House. When Foley explains the politics of a legislative situation he is involved in, he often sounds like a curious outsider, calmly perceiving the entire situation as a human comedy he happens to have wandered into.

In some ways, Foley seems a little unusual for a politician, let alone a majority whip. He is not comfortable with the back-slapping and small talk of a political campaign. He has never gone in for news releases or self promotion; when he became Agriculture chairman in 1975 he called reporters into his office one by one to avoid having to hold a press conference.

Foley was a strong Agriculture chairman — one of his best arguments against critics who say he would be an indecisive majority leader — but he operated almost entirely through conciliation. When circumstances seemed to require confrontation, he was less effective. Chairing a committee meeting, he was sometimes reluctant to bang the gavel even against a member who seemed to be asking for it.

Foley has risen slowly and cautiously in Democratic ranks, taking advantage of his reputation as a good legislative manager. In 1974 he chaired the Democratic Study Group, the strategy and research arm of liberal and moderate Democrats. In 1977 the chairmanship of the Democratic Caucus was open, and as a veteran of numerous reform battles against secrecy and seniority in the committee system, he was a logical choice. He defeated Shirley Chisholm of New York by a vote of 194-96. His four years as chairman were not particularly lively; few important decisions were made and Foley chose not to be an activist.

"The Democratic Caucus never should be what it once was or what it is today in some legislatures," he said after leaving the job. "It should never make collective judgments for the party. We left that role several years ago, and we're never going back."

In 1981 the defeat of John Brademas of Indiana forced Speaker O'Neill to choose a new whip. Chief Deputy Whip Dan Rostenkowski of Illinois, first in line for promotion, decided instead to take over the Ways and Means Committee. Some Democrats urged O'Neill to select a whip from among the 1970s Democratic generation, but O'Neill was looking for parliamentary skill in the coming arguments with

House Republicans. Foley was a parliamentary expert — he was Democratic convention parliamentarian in 1980 — and he got the job.

At Home: In the course of little more than a decade, Foley took over a Republican district, made himself invincible in it and then let it slip nearly out of control. It has taken years of political repair work for him to get it under control again.

Initially, Foley wanted to be a judge, as his father had been. He spent two years as deputy prosecutor in Spokane County and a year as assistant state attorney general. In 1961 he moved to Washington, D.C., to work for Sen. Henry M. Jackson as counsel to the old Senate Interior Committee.

Three years later he was a reluctant congressional candidate, persuaded to run by the favorable political climate for Democrats and by Jackson, who encouraged him to take a chance. Foley filed on the last possible day. He had no primary competition because no other Democrats wanted to challenge Republican Walt Horan, who had held the seat since 1942. But Horan was ailing at 66, and Foley had fund-raising help from Jackson and Sen. Warren Magnuson, as well as the advantage of the Johnson presidential landslide. He upset the incumbent in November by 12,000 votes.

After 1964, Foley worked hard to keep his district, and by 1970 Republicans had stopped running strong candidates against him.

But in 1976 he made a political mistake. Republican nominee Charles Kimball was killed in an airplane crash the month before the election, and Foley essentially stopped campaigning. That allowed Duane Alton, an unknown tire dealer from Spokane, to hold him to 58 percent of the vote.

The 1976 result convinced Republicans Foley was vulnerable, and Alton ran again in 1978. As Agriculture chairman, Foley had become a target for resentment over farm issues among his wheat-growing constituents, and his low profile in the district gave Alton another issue. Even worse for the incumbent, Indian tribal official Mel Tonasket ran as an independent and took away Democratic votes.

Alton was an inarticulate candidate, reluctant even to debate the man he was challenging, and his militant conservatism was too much for many moderate Republican voters. Yet Foley scraped by with just 48 percent.

Again in 1980, Republicans had high hopes. Foley's opponent this time was John Sonneland, a Spokane surgeon who had once served as state co-chairman of Common Cause. Sonneland moved to the right, calling Foley a fiscally irresponsible liberal and airing televi-

sion ads accusing the incumbent of having voted to allow experimentation on fetuses.

The incumbent campaigned hard, stressing his more conservative ideas, such as a tax cut and congressional veto of federal rules. Foley recaptured most of the vote he had lost to Tonasket in 1978, but the GOP tide left him with the smallest margin of his career, scarcely 7,000 votes.

Sonneland was back in 1982, replacing the more strident personal attacks with attempts to convince voters that Foley had placed national interests above local concerns. "Do voters want to push someone who is ascending the political

ladder," Sonneland asked during a debate, "or someone who will go to the mat?"

Such charges might have succeeded a few years earlier. But Foley's renewed attention to the district had paid off, and Sonneland's 1980 failure in a statewide Republican sweep had given him a loser's image among national Republicans, hurting him financially. Foley not only trounced Sonneland by nearly 2-to-1 in their mutual home base of Spokane County, but carried most of the 5th's rural counties for the first time in several elections. In 1984 he crushed Spokane City Councilman Jack Hebner.

Washington - 5th District

Committees

Majority Whip

Agriculture (2nd of 26 Democrats)

Wheat, Soybeans and Feed Grains (chairman); Department Operations, Research and Foreign Agriculture; Domestic Marketing, Consumer Relations and Nutrition; Forests, Family Farms and Energy.

House Administration (7th of 12 Democrats)

Procurement and Printing (chairman); Accounts; Office Systems.

Elections

1984 General

Thomas S. Foley (D) 154,988 (70%)
Jack Hebner (R) 67,438 (30%)

1982 General

Thomas S. Foley (D) 109,549 (64%)
John Sonneland (R) 60,816 (36%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1980 (52%) 1978 (48%)
1976 (58%) 1974 (64%) 1972 (81%) 1970 (67%)
1968 (57%) 1966 (57%) 1964 (53%)

District Vote For President

1964

D 85,833 (39%)
R 133,109 (60%)

Campaign Finance

| Year | Receipts | Receipts from PACs | Expenditures |
|---------------|-----------|--------------------|--------------|
| 1984 | | | |
| Foley (D) | \$443,540 | \$293,023 (66%) | \$379,651 |
| Hebner (R) | \$51,019 | \$100 (0.2%) | 51,019 |
| 1982 | | | |
| Foley (D) | \$466,125 | \$284,442 (61%) | \$428,953 |
| Sonneland (R) | \$164,355 | \$27,948 (17%) | \$163,991 |

Voting Studies

| Year | Presidential Support | | Party Unity | | Conservative Coalition | |
|------|----------------------|----|-------------|----|------------------------|----|
| | S | O | S | O | S | O |
| 1984 | 38 | 57 | 81 | 12 | 32 | 56 |

| Year | 29 | 59 | 83 | 8 | 25 | 55 |
|-------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1983 | 29 | 59 | 83 | 8 | 25 | 55 |
| 1982 | 39 | 51 | 83 | 12 | 40 | 55 |
| 1981 | 54 | 45 | 80 | 17 | 51 | 45 |
| 1980 | 76 | 21 | 85 | 12 | 38 | 60 |
| 1979 | 80 | 16 | 83 | 12 | 36 | 58 |
| 1978 | 64 | 30 | 69 | 25 | 40 | 55 |
| 1977 | 72 | 27 | 84 | 13 | 27 | 70 |
| 1976 | 37 | 61 | 78 | 19 | 36 | 59 |
| 1975 | 44 | 48 | 76 | 12 | 24 | 62 |
| 1974 (Ford) | 50 | 44 | | | | |
| 1974 | 51 | 36 | 80 | 9 | 13 | 75 |
| 1973 | 37 | 57 | 81 | 12 | 23 | 70 |
| 1972 | 68 | 32 | 78 | 18 | 22 | 73 |
| 1971 | 53 | 39 | 75 | 17 | 22 | 72 |

S = Support

O = Opposition

Key Votes

| | |
|---|---|
| Raise Social Security retirement age to 67 (1983) | N |
| Bar covert U.S. aid to Nicaragua (1983) | Y |
| Reduce dairy price supports (1983) | N |
| Pass Equal Rights Amendment (1983) | Y |
| Freeze physicians' fees under Medicare (1984) | N |
| Bar aid to anti-Sandinista forces in Nicaragua (1984) | Y |
| Pass bill to revise immigration laws (1984) | Y |
| Cut education spending (1984) | N |
| Authorize procurement of 21 MX missiles (1985) | N |

Interest Group Ratings

| Year | ADA | ACA | AFL-CIO | CCUS |
|------|-----|-----|---------|------|
| 1984 | 80 | 5 | 54 | 56 |
| 1983 | 85 | 27 | 81 | 32 |
| 1982 | 65 | 25 | 79 | 33 |
| 1981 | 55 | 18 | 73 | 32 |
| 1980 | 61 | 17 | 72 | 73 |
| 1979 | 53 | 8 | 60 | 56 |
| 1978 | 30 | 22 | 65 | 33 |
| 1977 | 45 | 15 | 96 | 38 |
| 1976 | 55 | 14 | 65 | 44 |
| 1975 | 63 | 19 | 100 | 21 |
| 1974 | 78 | 0 | 100 | 11 |
| 1973 | 84 | 19 | 91 | 20 |
| 1972 | 69 | 9 | 82 | 11 |
| 1971 | 73 | 15 | 90 | - |

DINING ROOM: EVENTS CHECKLIST

Time/Date of Event: 0745-Monday, 29 September 1986

Event: Breakfast XX Luncheon Dinner Other

Host: DCI XX DDCI ExDir Other

Place: DCI D.R. XX Executive Dining Room Other

In Honor Of: Representative Thomas Foley

Total Number of Attendees: 9*

Sponsoring Component: OCA Charge To: 40998

Contact: _____ Room: 7D43 Hqs.

Date Reservation Made: 15 Sept 1986 By: hcb

EDR and Zandra advised: 15 Sept 1986 Cys To: DCI; DDCI; ExDir; DDI;
DDA; ADDO; ADDS&T; OCA
EDR;

Place Cards:

Ordered: _____ Received: _____ To EDR: _____

Date Date Date

Menu: WILL ORDER FROM MENU
Prepared _____ Distributed To: _____

*Mr. William J. Casey, host
Representative Thomas Foley, guest of honor
Mr. Robert M. Gates, DDCI
Mr. James Taylor, ExDir
Mr. William Donnelly, DDA
Mr. Richard Kerr, DDI
Mr. James Hirsch, ADDS&T
Mr. Bertram Dunn, ADDO
Mr. David Gries, D/OCA

